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STUDIES AND DOCUMENTS ON THE WAR

How Germany seeks to justify her atrocities

by

JOSEPH BÉDIER

Professor at the « Collège de France »

Translated by J. S.

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seeks to justify her atrocities**

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How Germany seeks to justify her atrocities

In a pamphlet entitled *German Atrocities from German evidence*, I published extracts from about thirty diaries taken from prisoners of war. In these diaries the German soldiers depict themselves or their companions in arms as incendiaries, robbers and murderers who, however, in ordinary circumstances, only burn, rob and murder to order and in the course of their military duty.

This pamphlet, which was published towards the beginning of January, spread through the world with great rapidity in thousands of copies; and while this was happening the German press maintained profound silence on the subject.

At last this silence has been broken. On the 28th February a seven column article which pretended to be a refutation of my pamphlet appeared in the semi-official *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*. Almost immediately attention was drawn to the article by a wireless message from the Nauen wireless station, and on the 24th March a second wireless telegram gave a general direction to the Germanophile press throughout the world to produce frequent references to the article. And in fact in the most widely separated countries innumerable papers and

pamphlets in every language are constantly publishing it, or sommaires and paraphrases of it, or comments on it, but it is a remarkable instance of discipline that these papers and pamphlets never had anything to add, so that the whole German defence is contained in the article in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*.

This defence is a very simple one and is confined to stating that the pages of the diaries produced by me are, in themselves, very innocent, and it is only when I translate them into French that they appear incriminating as a result of clever garbling of the sense or of the ingenious selection of incomplete quotations.

It does not seem to me likely that this kind of defence will have any effect on those of my readers who know German and who can compare the translation of each text with the original. At any rate it could have no influence in those countries where German is the prevailing language, on those who have in their hands not the French edition of my pamphlet but the German edition in which of course there is not a single word of French.

It is otherwise with readers who do not know German, and the manœuvre was devised — not without some astuteness — for the benefit of these alone. However disposed they may be to welcome the truth they will open my pamphlet with suspicion if any success attends the attempt to make them believe that the facsimiles laid before them are deceptive, and that I am making them read in French, or that my translators are making them read in Italian, Spanish or Swedish, something different from what the German soldiers say in their own tongue.

Fortunately it is very easy to dispel this danger. The following pages are addressed expressly to those of my readers who are ignorant of German, or do not know it well. I propose to set out and discuss all the criticisms of the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* with the result that it will be plain to everyone that in my first pamphlet there is but one expression (on page 26) by the employment

of which, in consequence of a mistake as to the meaning of a word (namely, *Granaten* which was translated as “bombs” while the true meaning is “shells”) I unwittingly put a wrong sense upon a story to the disadvantage of a German corps; that if in this instance the pharisees have been able to triumph, it is the only triumph of which they can boast; and that everywhere else, the German texts being usually very simple and easy to understand, there has not been and could not be any uncertainty of interpretation except as regards five or six short expressions of practically no importance. I will set out side by side the meaning given by myself to those five or six expressions, and the meaning given by the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, and it will then be open to those of my readers who do not know a word of German to choose if they like the interpretation of the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* in each case. I will go further than this! I will advise them to choose the German interpretation in each case; it will then appear still more clearly that, however one may choose to translate these few lines, the vileness of the deeds recorded in their context remains the same.

But those who have started this ridiculous side issue would be only too happy if I were to limit myself here to discussing grammatical niceties. They were indeed most unwise to try to extract here and there in the text of my pamphlet some doubtful expression, for I had warned them that I could substitute for any of these documents others which were of equal importance and no less odious. Since they have paid no heed to my warning I will make a fresh draft on the collection of German note-books. On every occasion on which they have presumed, by the criticism of some detail, to throw doubt upon the meaning of one of the texts, which I have already published, I will begin by showing the insignificance or falsehood of the criticism, and then, whenever it seems to be expedient, I will produce one or more fresh quotations in which other German soldiers will be

found to relate precisely similar crimes, with the same cynicism.

In order to be sure of placing a true interpretation upon these new quotations, I asked two of my friends and colleagues, both of them Alsacians, to translate them independently of me. These quotations are so clear that our three translations, which were wholly independent of one another, have throughout agreed in sense; they only differ in turns of phrase, and in these cases of infinitely small divergence, we made it a rule always to prefer the translation which was mildest and most favourable to the Germans. These fresh documents will, as I hope and believe, provoke fresh criticism. But, as in the case of the fable of the snake and the file, it will be useless to attack them : *offendes solido*.

I

MASSACRE IN A VILLAGE NEAR BLAMONT

In my previous pamphlet (p. 7-8) I published the following extract from a German diary :

“ The inhabitants fled through the village. It was horrible. Blood was plastered on all the houses, and as for the faces of the dead, they were hideous. They were all buried at once, to the number of sixty. Among them many old men and women, and one woman about to be delivered. It was a ghastly sight. There were three children who had huddled close to one another and had died together. The altar and the ceiling of the church had fallen in. They had been telephoning to the enemy. And this morning, 2 September, all the survivors were driven out, and I saw four little boys carrying on two poles a cradle in which was a child of five or six months old. All this was horrible to see. A blow for a blow. Thunder for thunder. Everything was pillaged... And I also saw a mother with her

two little ones: and one had a large wound in the head, and had lost an eye.”¹

The Nord-deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung makes no complaint with regard to the transcription and translation of this passage except with regard to the dots after the words “Everything was pillaged” “Alles wird geplündert...” The four words which follow are difficult to read, as anyone can see for himself from the facsimile annexed (Plate A, last

Ich für Herbrintung
 in dem Feind. Und
 seit morgen den 2.9.
Laufende da werden
 finetly. Sie werden
 ein angedacht, so.
 fangt auf auf die
 die einen Mangel
 auf 2 Stabe mit
 einen kleinen Kinde
5-6 Monat alt.
 Schrecklich alles mit
 zu sehen. Schuss auf. Schuss
 Donner auf. Donner.
alles wird geplündert
 Grosse alte Leute
 tot.

Plate A.

1. “[Die Einwohner sind geflüchtet im Dorf. Da sa es] gräulich aus. Das Blut glebt an alle Baute, und was sa man für Gesichter, grässlich sa alles aus. Es wurde sofort sämtliche Tote, die Zahl 60, sofort beerdigt. Fiele alte Frauen, Väter und eine Frau, welche in Entbindung stand, grauenhaft alles anzusehen. 3 Kinder hatten sich zusammengefasst und sind gestorbe. Altar und Decken sind eingestürzt. Hatte auch Telefon-Verbindung mit dem Feind. Und heut morgen, den 2.9., da wurden sämtliche Einwohner hinausgetrieben, so sah ich auch 4 Knaben, die eine Wiege trugen auf 2 Stabe mit einem kleinen Kinde 5-6 Monat alt. Schrecklich alles mitanzusehen. Schuss auf Schuss! Donner auf Donner! Alles wird geplündert... (on the back :) Mutter mit ihren beiden Kinder, der eine hatte eine grosse Wunde am Kopf und ein Auge verloren.”

line). I was unable to decipher them. That was the only meaning of my dots. The *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* which has found the true reading (Hü[h] ner alles "ward abges[chach] tet" "the poultry and everything else was killed") thinks that I have "suppressed this end of the sentence because I should have run the risk of showing the innocent character of this looting of chickens and provisions."¹

Did the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* on the other hand communicate the whole passage to its readers? Did it show them the corpses of the old women and men who had been murdered and the corpse of the pregnant woman? It took good care not to do so: it only showed them the slaughtered chickens.

This first example is enough to show the whole method of criticism. To start some ridiculous philological quibble at every opportunity when dealing with documents,

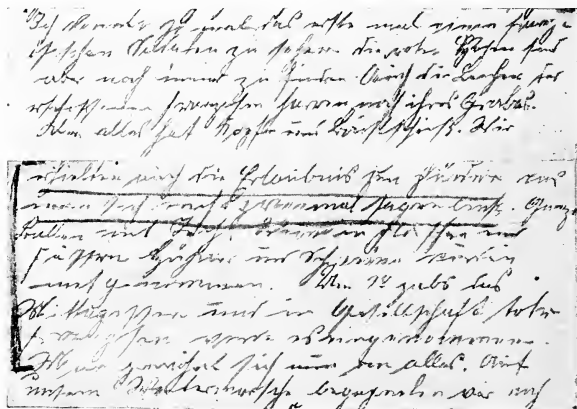
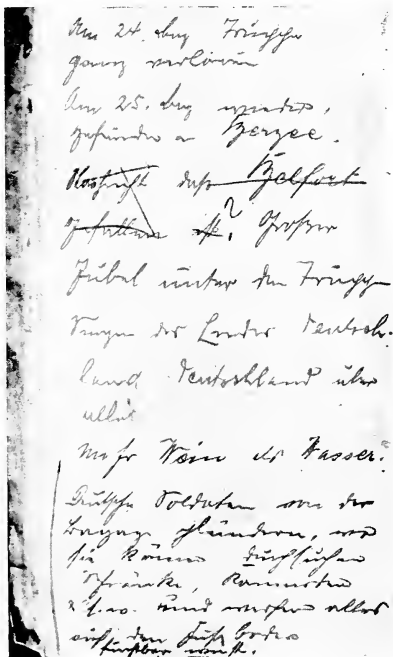


Plate B.

1. "Bédier unterschlägt den Rest des Satzes, weil er den harmlosen Charakter dieser Hühner und Esswaren. — "Plünderung" offenbaren könnte" (from the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*).

which prove the perpetration of infamous crimes; and to pass over the crimes themselves in silence — such are the tactics pursued from beginning to end of the article. In fact it is not necessary to know German in order to detect the character of this sordid prevarication (which is in itself a confession); good sense and good faith are enough.

But since this scene of the “looting of chickens and provisions” seemed “innocent” to the Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung I will submit to the criticism of that paper four other stories of looting whose “innocent character” it will no doubt endeavour to establish :



Am 24. Aug. Frische
ganz verloren
Am 25. Aug. wieder,
gefunden a. Gerye.
Nachtzug auf Gelfort
gefunden a. Gerye
Füßel unter den Frische
Tunze der Linder Deutsch.
Lund Deutschland über
all
Masse Wein der Fasser.
Frische Soldaten von der
Lungen, gefunden, und
für einen Frische
Frische, gefunden
a. G. und noch alle
auf den Fische
Frische.

Plate C.

Diary of Stretcher-bearer-Joseph Ott (33rd. Division 16th Army Corps) (Plate B, p. 10) :

“ 23rd August. The corpses of the Frenchmen who have been killed still await burial. They have all been struck on the head or chest. We were given leave to loot and did not wait for the order to be repeated. Whole bundles of linen, wine in

bottles and casks. chickens and pigs were carried off. We had lunch at 1 o'clock and took it in the company of dead Frenchmen. One soon gets accustomed to everything." ¹

Diary of soldier H. Albers of the 78th Infantry Regiment, 10th Reserve Corps (Plate C, p. 11):

"25th August. At Berzée (south of Charleroi). News of the fall of Belfort. Great enthusiasm amongst the troops. They sing *Deutschland, Deutschland über alles*.

More wine than water, German soldiers of the regimental train loot where they can. They search through cupboards, wardrobes, etc., and throw everything on the ground. Terribly savage. I have never taken part in such acts." ²

Diary of non-commissioned officer Burkhardt of the 100th Reserve Regiment Grenadiers, 12th Reserve Corps.

30th August. Near Rumigny (Ardennes). "We get some tinned foods from a commissariat depot guarded by a paymaster and 2 men. Lieut. Otto leaves a few more men to protect our rear. We go through the cellar and find all sorts of good things. The wonderful rooms in the castle offer a terrible spectacle. We searched for gold and silver and everything was turned topsy turvy. To resume the march is very uncomfortable after a copious consumption of alcohol. I have a flask of chartreuse in my knapsack into the bargain." ³

1. "Die Leichen der erschossenen Franzosen harren noch ihres Grabes, aber alles hat Kopf-und Brustschuss. Wir erhielten auch die Erlaubnis zum plündern, was man sich nicht zweimal sagen liess. Ganze Ballen mit Tuch, Wein in Flaschen und Fässern, Hühner und Schweine wurden mitgenommen. Um 1^u gabs das Mittagessen und in Gesellschaft toter Franzosen wurde es eingenommen. Man gewöhnt sich nun an alles."

2. (A. Berzée). "25 August. — Nachricht dass Belfort gefallen ist. Grosser Jubel unter den Truppen. Singen des Liedes "Deutschland, Deutschland über alles."

Mehr Wein als Wasser. Deutsche Soldaten von der Bagage plündern, wo sie können. Durchsuchen Schränke, Kommoden u. s. w. und werfen alles auf den Fussboden. Furchtbar wüst. (On the following page): Ich habe mich niemals daran beteiligt."

3. "Bei einem Traindepot, das von einem Zahlmeister und 2 Mann bewacht wird, fassen wir Konserven. Lt. Otto lässt noch einige Leute zur Bedeckung zurück. Wir unterziehen den Weinkeller einer Revision und finden allerlei gute Sachen. Die wunderbaren Räume des Schlosses sehen grauenhaft aus. Man hat nach Gold und Silber gesucht, und alles durcheinander geworfen. Der Weitermarsch ist nach der reichlich genossenen Alkoholizis sehr sauer. Ich habe zudem eine Steinbülle Chatreuse (sic) im Tornister."

50 civilians had hidden in the church tower and had fired on our men with a machine gun. All the civilians were shot.¹

The Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung demands that I should transcribe and translate the eight lines which follow. I set them out accordingly :

“ All the civilians were shot. The first battalion of the 49th lost several killed and many wounded. Thereupon the whole village was burned by shell fires. On account of these occurrences the 2nd battalion of the 49th was directed to watch over the security of troops on their way through Diest. Sentinels were put all along the street at intervals of ten yards.”²

I leave the reader to find out for himself in what respect these lines remove the stain on the honour of the German troops and acquit them of having, on this day, the 18th August, in the village of Schaffen, as *the first report of the Belgian Commission of Enquiry* tells us (pages 3 and 4) shot “ the wife of François Luyckz... with her daughter of 12 ” and shot “ the daughter of Jean Ooyen aged 9 ” and “ burned alive André Willem, sacristan ”.

These are mere incidents, it will be said, of what the Germans call “ war against francs-tireurs ”. This is certainly the case. Such episodes abound in this country of Belgium which the Germans had sworn to respect and in case of need to defend, and which they are torturing. Here are two more which I set out for the criticism of the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*. I take the first from the diary written in shorthand of a soldier G. M. Missbach of the 13th Chasseurs Reserves (12th Reserve

1. “ Kurz von Diest liegt das Dorf Schaffen. Hier hatten sich gegen 50 Civilisten auf dem Kirchturm versteckt und schossen von hier aus auf unsere Truppen mit einem Maschinengewehr. Sämtliche Civilisten wurden erschossen. ”

2. “ Sämtliche Civilisten wurden erschossen. Die 1/49er verloren mehrere Mannschaften, zahlreiche Verwundete. Daraufhin wurde das ganze Dorf in Brand geschossen. Wegen dieser Vorfälle erhielt 11/49 den Befehl, die Sicherung der durchziehenden Truppen in Diest zu übernehmen. Die Strasse entlang standen Posten von 10 zu 10 Schritt. ”

III

MASSACRE IN A VILLAGE NORTH OF DINANT

I published the following page (*Plate G*, page 18) from the diary of Private Philipp (178th Saxon Regiment of Infantry).

“ In the evening at 10 o'clock the first battalion of the 178th regt. went down to the village that had been burnt to the north of Dinant. A sad and beautiful sight, and one that made you shudder. At the entrance of the village there lay about 50 dead bodies strewn on the road. They had been shot for having fired on our troops from ambush. In the course of the night, many others were shot in the same way, so that we could count more than two hundred. The women and children, lamp in hand, were obliged to watch the horrible scene. We then ate our rice, in the midst of the corpses, for we had not tasted food since morning.”¹

The *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* has found only one subject of complaint in my transcription and translation of this passage, and that is in the sentence where it is stated that women and children, lamp in hand, looked on, I have translated *mussten* by *were obliged to* and not by *had to*, as if, as the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* says, the text had run “ were compelled to be present at the terrible spectacle ” (*wurden gezwungen bei dem entsetzlichen Schauspiele zu assistieren*).

There are in fact two ways and two only of representing what happened : either these unhappy people were *compelled* by the German soldiers to remain with their lamps in their hands or else they came and remained of their own free will because *it was necessary* for them to try to iden-

1. “ Gleich am Eingange lagen ca. 50 erschossene Bürger, die meuchlings auf unsre Truppen gefeuert hatten. Im Laufe der Nacht wurden noch viele erschossen, sodass wir über 200 zählen konnten. Frauen und Kinder, die Lampe in der Hand, mussten dem entsetzlichen Schauspiele zusehen. Wir assen dann inmitten der Leichen unsern Reis, seit Morgen hatten wir nichts gegessen. ”

tations. They seem to me to present two pictures which are equally hideous. But when the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, which prefers the second interpretation, alleges in support of its contention that *müssen* could not convey the idea of compulsion, it makes an inaccurate assertion. I ask for no other proof than the expression in another German Diary (see *Plate J*, below) “ Aus der Stadt wurden 300 erschossen; die die Salve überlebten mussten Totengräber sein ” (“ 300 of the inhabitants were shot, and the survivors were requisitioned as gravediggers ”.) Can anyone say that in this phrase *müssen* expresses only a simple moral necessity, and that the men who were employed that day as gravediggers did so of their own free will?

Taking the advantage of a right which is universally admitted I have usually transcribed and translated from the pages produced in facsimile in my pamphlet only those passages which seemed to me essential, omitting what appeared to be immaterial. We have already seen and we shall see again further on that the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* finds fault with me for so doing and attaches importance to the lines which I have omitted, zealously though vainly seeking to find in them excuses for the crimes which are admitted in the remaining part of the page. As an exception in respect of the page reproduced in facsimile *G*, it does not make such reproach against me, although in this case as in all others I have not transcribed and translated the whole page. Can it be because in this case at least the lines which I have reproduced are of no importance? Here they are :

“ Beim Durchsuchen der Häuser fanden wir viel Wein und Likör, aber keine Lebensmittel. (*Then in shorthand*):¹ Hauptmann Hamann war betrunken ”.

1. This shorthand (Gabelsberger system) was deciphered by M. S. Jarris, shorthand writer to the Danish Parliament who has published an article on this subject in the paper “ Politiken ” of 15 th March, 1915.

That is to say :

“ We searched through the houses and found plenty of wines and spirits but nothing to eat”. *Then in shorthand* “ Captain Hamann was drunk”.

The soldier did not hesitate to write longhand the story of the nocturnal massacre, but he only dares to record in secret writing the fact that an officer got drunk.

VI

MASSACRE OF WOMEN

In my former pamphlet (page 16) I quote a diary which states that in one house alone in a village of Lorraine “ two men with their wives and a girl of eighteen were bayonnetted (*passés à la baïonnette*) (*wurden erstochen*)” and further on (p. 17) I quote another diary which states that at Orchies a woman was shot (*wurde erschossen*) for not having stopped at the word of command-*Halt*”. I have tried to make several of my friends guess what the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* can find to reproach me for in this sentence: not one of them succeeded. The complaint of the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* is that “ *passer à la baïonnette* ” means “ to put to death legally with cold steel ” (“ *hinrichten durch das Bayonett* ”) and that “ *passer par les armes* ” means “ to put to death legally with fire arms ” (“ *Mit der Waffe hinrichten* ”). But anyone who knows French knows that *être passé à la baïonnette, au fil de l'épée, par les armes*, etc., means “ to perish by the bayonet, by the sword, by fire arms ”, etc., and that at no period in the history of language have such expressions conveyed or could convey the idea of any legal sentence. The astonishing mistake of the Berlin critic probably arises from the fact that he has looked up some German-French dictionary which interpreted not the expression “ *être passé par les armes* ” but the expression “ *faire passer par les armes* ”.

One of the episodes in question is described by the author of the Diary in the following terms :

“(So haben wir 8 Häuser mit den Einwohnern vernichtet. Aus einem Hause wurden allein) 2 Männer mit ihren Frauen und ein 18jähriges Mädchen erstochen. Das Mädel konnte mir leid tun, de.. (n) siemachte solch unschuldigen Blick. Aber man konnte gegen die aufgeregte Menge nicht (s) ausrichten, denn dann sind es keine Menschen, sonder (n) Tiere.”

Which means as I think :

“In this way we destroyed 8 houses with their inmates. In one of them two men with their wives and a girl of eighteen were bayonnetted. The little one almost unnerved me, so innocent was her expression. But it was impossible to check the crowd (*Menge*) so excited were they, for at such moments you are no longer men, but wild beasts.”

The *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* maintains that *Menge* does not refer to the German soldiers but their adversaries, the inhabitants of the village.

I have consulted about ten people who know German as their native language, Alsacians, German Swiss, German women married to Frenchmen. I laid before them not the two proposed interpretations but simply the German text asking them to translate it according to their own ideas : seven without any prompting from me translated it as I had : then, when informed of the other interpretation some hesitated, but others insisted on their own, holding in particular that *Menge* (*crowd, multitude*) might very well be used of a riotous assembly at a time of strike for example, but would be most improperly applied to a few men scattered about in a few houses and shooting from the windows. However that may be, whether the author of the diary hoped to find an excuse for his companions in arms in the necessity of obtaining the mastery of adversaries who were more like beasts than men, or in the animal fury which develops almost of necessity in fighting with cold steel, we may say that the two pleas are equally admissible by way of extenuation. But the fact remains that

all those who resisted, to execute them according to martial law. The houses which either the French or our own artillery had not yet set on fire were burnt by us, and in consequence almost the whole town was reduced to ashes. It is a terrible thing to see women and children defenceless and henceforth beggared of everything, driven along like a flock of sheep to be sent over to France.¹”

V

THREE HUNDRED
SHOT

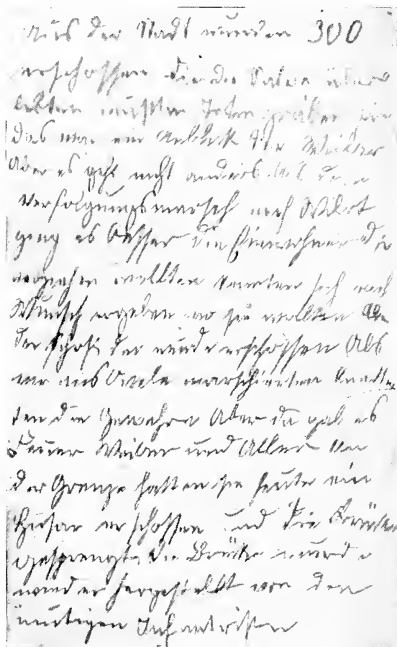
In reproducing
in my pamphlet

a page taken from the Diary of Reservist Schlauter of the

1. “(Eine Granate schlug in der Nähe der 1. Kompanie) ein und verwundete 7 Mann, darunter 3 schwer. Um 5 Uhr wurde uns von Regts. Kommandeur der Befehl (erteilt? *the word is missing*) sämtliche männliche Einwohner von Nomeny zu erschiessen und die ganze Stadt dem Erboden gleichzumachen, da die Leute törichterweise versuchten dem Vorgehen der deutschen Truppen durch Waffengebrauch Widerstand entgegenzusetzen. Wir drangen in die Häuser ein und fassten jedermann, der Widerstand leistete, ab, um ihn standrechtlich zu erschiessen. Die Häuser, die noch nicht von unserer und von der französischen Artillerie in Brand gesteckt waren, wurden von uns angezündet, und so fast die ganze Stadt eingäschert, Es ist ein fürchterliches Bild, wenn die hilflosen Frauen und Kinder, nunmehr aller Mittel bar, zusammengetrieben werden, um nach Frankreich abgeschoben zu werden.”

Plate I.

4th Regiment of the Artillery of the Guard, I only transcribed and translated the first 13 lines. (Plate J, page 24). The *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, which for reasons



Die der Stadt wurden 300
 erschossen die die Salve überlebten
 mussten Totengräber sein. Das war ein Anblick der Weiber, aber es
 geht nicht anders. Auf dem Verfolgungsmarsch nach Wilot ging es besser
 Aber da gab es Feuer Weiber und
 alles. At the frontier they have to-day shot a Hussar and des-
 troyed the bridge. The bridge has been rebuilt by the brave
 Infantry. " 1

Plate J.

that I leave to the imagination of the reader has abstained from copying the five first lines (those which I have reproduced in italics below) asks me to transcribe and translate the whole. I do so willingly.

“Three hundred of the inhabitants were shot and the survivors were requisitioned as gravediggers. You should have seen the women at this moment! But you can't do otherwise. During our march on Wilot things went better: the inhabitants who wished to leave could do so and go

where they liked. But anyone who fired was shot. When we left Öwele shots were fired: *Aber da gab es Feuer Weiber und alles.* At the frontier they have to-day shot a Hussar and destroyed the bridge. The bridge has been rebuilt by the brave Infantry.” 1

1. “Aus der Stadt wurden 300 erschossen. Die die Salve überlebten mussten Totengräber sein. Das war ein Anblick der Weiber, aber es geht nicht anders. Auf dem Verfolgungsmarsch nach Wilot ging es besser.

The only criticism made by the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* concerns the phrase which I have left above in German. (*Aber da gab es Feuer Weiber und alles*). I translated it: «Mais là, incendie, femmes, et le reste...»¹ The *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* tells us that in colloquial German “wir gaben Feuer Auf” means “we fired on” and that it must be interpreted as meaning, the word “auf” having been omitted, “Darauf gaben wir Feuer auf Weiber und Alles” that is to say, “We fired on the women and everybody”. Perhaps the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* is right in this instance. The problem, the solution of which I leave to the reader, is to determine whether my mistake was to the advantage of the German Army or otherwise; in other words, it is for the reader to decide which is the more honourable action for a soldier, to outrage a woman or shoot her.

If the interpretation of the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* is accepted it will follow, it will be said, that this village where the soldiers were satisfied with firing “on the women and everybody” was neither burnt nor sacked. This would indeed be a fortunate and a rare privilege when one remembers what was, according to the testimony of the German Diaries, the fate of Nomeny, of Schaffen (see above), of Orchies (see page 18 of my first pamphlet), of Parux (page 22) of Sommepey which was “burnt to the ground, the French thrown into inflames houses, civilians and all burnt altogether” (page 10), of Gué d'Ossus where under the influence of an irrational panic the German troops “the male inhabitant were simply consigned to

Die Einwohner, die wegziehen wollten, konnten sich nach Wunsch ergeben, wo sie wollten; aber, der schoss, der wurde erschossen. Als wir aus Owele marschierten, knatterten die Gewehre, *aber da gab es Feuer Weiber und Alles*. An der Grenze hatten sie heute ein [en] Husar [en] erschossen und die Brücke gesprengt. Die Brücke wurde wiederhergestellt von den mutigen Infanteristen.”

1. Note by the translator of the English edition of M. Bédier's first pamphlet: This phrase was translated as “but there, women and everything were fired on...” — the rendering which has been favoured by the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*.

rible. There is after all something in what people say about the German barbarians.”¹

I submit also to the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* these three lines taken from the diary of Lieutenant Y. of the 13th regiment of foot artillery (Hohenzollern).

“ 24th August, Blamont.

“ The village has been sacked from top to bottom and those who are quartered there — Bavarians, I think, — behaved like Vandals.”²

VI

CIVILIANS PLACED IN FRONT OF THE GERMAN TROOPS TO PROTECT THEM

I published in facsimile on page 20 of my pamphlet a column from an issue of the *Münchner Neueste Nachrichten*. A Bavarian Officer, 1st. Lieut. A. Eberlein, relates in it over his signature the basest deeds : in any army but the German an Officer who made such a confession would suffer military degradation and be sent to penal servitude. This man relates openly how having entered Saint-Dié at the head of a column he was obliged to barricade himself in a house while waiting for reinforcements and how the better to protect himself he compelled, three inhabitants of the town, by blows with the butt end of a rifle, to go into the middle of the street and stay there seated on chairs during the fight. He adds that on the same day a German reserve regiment which entered Saint-Dié by another road had recourse to a similar stratagem : “ The four civilians that had been made to sit in the street had been killed by

1. “ Wir liegen hier auf dem Rasen im Garten des Besitzers der Glasfabrik, dessen Haus jetzt im Keller unseren Regimentsstab beherbergt. Das Dorf und die Arbeiterhäuser hier durch geplündert und verwüstet. Scheusslich. Es ist doch was daran an dem Gerede von den deutschen Barbaren. ”

2. “ 24. August. Das Dorf war vollständig ausgeplündert, und wie Vandalen hatte die Einquartierung — ich vermute die Baiern — gehaust. ”

French bullets. I saw them myself stretched out in the middle of the street near the Hospital."

The complaint of the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* on this point is that I have only reproduced in facsimile one column from the paper. Why did I not publish the preceding column also? "In the absence of the context" says the paper, "it is impossible to determine if the fighting was in the nature of regular or irregular war. In fighting with *franc-tireurs* it may be useful and perfectly legitimate (*sic*) to place a few civilians in the street on whom their friends and neighbours do not dare to fire, while in regular war this would be a crime."¹

Yes, a "crime" and one of the vilest of which one can accuse soldiers, and since it is of that crime that I accuse two German regiments, how is it that the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* has not taken the opportunity of justifying them and putting me to confusion? Was it so difficult for it to obtain a copy of the *Münchner Neueste Nachrichten*? I gave every necessary reference, — No. 513 of Wednesday, 7th October, 1914, *Vorabendblatt*, page 2. It is impossible to believe that there is not a file of a paper with so wide a circulation in at least ten libraries at Berlin. It was as easy to verify the suggestion as it was necessary. If the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* has neglected to do so, what right has it to insinuate that I found a mention of *franc-tireurs* in the story of the fighting at Saint-Dié and have suppressed the passage? If on the other hand the *Norddeutsche* has verified the passage and, not having found in the story of this fighting any trace of *franc-tireurs*, has the effrontery to express its regret that only publish one column from the paper, what is the appropriate name for such procedure? In fact, the

1. "Es ist aus dem Zusammenhang nicht zu ersehen, ob es sich hier um regulären Krieg oder irregulären Krieg handelt. Im Franktireurkrieg kann es zweckmässig und im höchsten Grade gerechtfertigt sein einige Zivilisten auf die Strasse zu postieren, auf welche Freunde und Nachbarn nicht zu schiessen wagen, während es im regulären Krieg ein Verbrechen wäre." (*Allgemeine Zeitung*.)

ersten fünf Gruppen Vortrupp. Radfahrer voraus!" — Dann marschieren wir ein.

Zu meiner Schande will ich gleich gestehen, in Marschkolonne! Aber es schien alles so friedlich. Leute standen aus der Straße, Mädchen winkten uns lächelnd zu — das Lächeln haben wir allerdings erst später verstanden. —

Ein Mann in grauen Haaren springt auf mich zu: „Herr Kapitän, ich führe Sie; ich bin ein Deutscher!"

„Sind noch Franzosen in der Stadt?"

„O nein! Alle fort!"

Wir ziehen an einer Kaserne vorbei; kein Mensch zu sehen. Rechts geht eine Seitenstraße ab. Da schreit einer von meinen Leuten: „Herr Oberleutnant, da drüben hab' ich ein paar rote Hosen gesehen!"

Ich lasse sofort halten.

Das war unser Glück, denn unterdessen sind unsere Radfahrer bis auf 50 Meter an das Rathaus vorgefahren und plötzlich sehen sie vor sich eine Barrikade. Sehen, Abspringen. Aekrtmothen war das Wort eines Augenblicks und da rollt auch schon die erste Salve in unsere dichtgedrückte Marschkolonne.

Die Hölle scheint sich aufgetan zu haben, die Häuser speien Feuer aus.

Die Wirkung der ersten Salve war fürchterlich. 9 Mann wälzen sich in ihrem Blut, davon 4 Sterbende. Wie durch ein Wunder bin ich unversehrt geblieben, obgleich ich mit meinen beiden Offiziersstellvertretern vorausgegangen war. Einer von ihnen, Offiziersstellvertreter L., erhielt einen Schuß ins Bein, konnte aber noch zurückspringen. Einen Moment paßt lähmendes Entsetzen die Kompagnie.

Alles drängt sich gegen eine Mauer, weiß doch niemand, woher die Schüsse kommen.

Da sehe ich unseren weihbärtigen französisch-deutschen Wiedermann auf das Rathaus zufliehen. Oben drüher steht: „Café de l'Univers", schon ist er drin, ich rufe mit aller Kraft: „Alles mir nach, ins Haus!"

Krachend gibt die schwere Türe nach, flirrend fliegen die Fensterscheiben im Zimmer herum, auch herein schlagen die Kugeln, aber etwa 40 Mann sind bei mir.

„Sofort sämtliche Fenster besetzen! Feldmehel G. hierauf in den zweiten Stock! Alles zur Verteidigung einrichten!" Tische und Stühle fliegen hinaus auf die Straße, in die Höden werden Schießscharten hineingebrochen und dann nehmen wir das Feuergefecht auf, hab ich doch unterdessen an den einschlagenden Geschossen gemerkt, daß sie zu meist von der Barrikade am Rathaus herkommen.

Und jetzt schleichen auch Alpenjäger die Häuserfront entlang, ein paar wohlgezielte Schüsse, sie verschwinden.

Unsere nächste Sorge galt nun den Verwundeten. Einer von ihnen, ein Unteroffizier, liegt mit einem Bauchschuß mitten in der Straße und ruft jämmerlich um Hilfe. Ich bleibe umher.

unser braver L eigener Lebens von unserer be wohl auch uns Haus wir uns wir auch noch e jenster hinaus.

In dieser 2 unserer Brigad ausgehalten, ha geöffnetes Fen — zwei elegant tücher in den 2 Füßen werfend vergeihe mir di eine spricht der heraus, die ich und Schwester sie selbst sollen sonst werden di halbe Stunde gegeben Nun Artillerie und sind über die 2 unser Haus gef

Ich lasse sie hinunterführen. dem Herrn Gen mußte ich schon samt den Beig unser weisloshalten sollte.

Aber drei e haftet und da l werden auf St einen Sitzplatz nehmen. Hand ein paar Gew. Man wird al siken sie drauße gebete sie loss Hände sind die So leid sie m

Das Klankent nach, wir könne Haus beiegn 1 Hauptstraße. 4 zeigt, wird nie hat unterdessen 7 Uhr abends um uns zu beiz ten: „St. Di 6

Wie ich späte giment, das n drang, ganz ät wir. Ihre vie die Straße legt zoken erschollen. haus mitten in

Nun noch ein weiß, welcher 6 kritischer Situa

reader can see here produced in facsimile the column which the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* regrets not to have had the opportunity of reading ¹ (*Plate L*).

We there read that on entering Saint-Dié an old man acted as guide to the German detachment. He called himself a German : (perhaps he was one) and he gave an assurance (perhaps in good faith) that there were no more French troops in the town. Further on firing broke out and a fight began; the Germans had before them “ Rote Hosen ”, that is to say “ red trousers ” (line 16) and the “ Alpenjäger ”, that is Alpine chasseurs (line 56) : Nothing is said about *francs-tireurs*.

The enquiry undertaken at Saint-Dié by the French authorities confirms in every particular the shameful but accurate story of 1st Lieut. Eberlein. There is a contra-

1. The article contains more than two hundred lines. As I cannot reproduce the whole in facsimile I will sum it up as follows : On the 27th August at six in the morning Eberlein's company forming the advance-guard marched in the direction of Saint-Dié : The column was disturbed during its march by the fire of the French Infantry. It arrived at the commune of Sainte-Marguerite (4 kilomètres from Saint-Dié) : Rifle shots came from houses. The houses were searched and only civilians were found ; the village was burned (In der Dorfstrasse erhalten wir Feuer und zwar kam es nur aus den Häusern. Obwohl wir die Häuser durchsuchten, finden wir nur Zivilisten darinnen, sie werden verhaftet, die Häuser gehen in Flammen auf. Von rückwärts kommt der Befehl, das Dorf niederzubrennen. Mit Unheimlicher Schnelligkeit wird der Befehl befolgt). Description of the burning. The company resumed its march, and arrived in sight of Saint-Dié. Description of Saint-Dié. Halt at the factory in front of the town to wait for orders. The order arrives from the brigade to enter Saint-Dié which ought not to contain any more French troops. Saint-Dié anscheinend vom Gegner frei ! Also los ! *Die ersten fünf Gruppen Vortrupp*. Here begins the second column which the reader has before his eyes in facsimile. The Germans have to fight in the town with infantry of the line and Alpine chasseurs — nothing but regular troops who have erected barricades. 24 lines follow not reproduced in facsimile which narrate the death of two German soldiers, Pfeifer and Kunz. Finally the German artillery fire on the French barricade. “ Wohl fällt für uns mitunter auch was ab, aber wir kriegen Luft und *unser braver Offizierstellvertreter W.* ” It is by these words that the 2nd column of the article joins on to the 3rd and last column reproduced in facsimile in my former pamphlet in which Lieut. Eberlein describes the abominable treatment inflicted by himself and his companions in arms of the regiment of reserve on unarmed civilians and innocent civilians.

diction only on one point. The Bavarian Officer states that “ he had himself seen in the middle of the street near the hospital the bodies of *four civilians* whom the reserve troops had placed in front to protect themselves”. In reality of these four civilians two only were killed; the two others were severely wounded but survived, as is shown amongst other evidence by the following disposition :

Year 1914. 30th October,

We, Dacher Eugène, police commissary of the town of Saint-Dié, *officier de police judiciaire*, assistant to the procureur of the Republic,

Acting in execution of instructions given by M. le Procureur de la Republique at Saint-Dié,

We went to 31, rue Thurin, the residence of M. Charles Auguste Georges Visser, 50 years of age, cashier at the manufactory of Emile Blech & Co.

M. Visser, having been sworn to speak the truth made the following declaration :

“ On the 27th August, 1914, towards nine in the morning, a detachment of German infantry arrived at Saint-Dié by the road which leads from Gratin to Saint-Dié. A German officer placed his revolver under my chin saying “ you lead us ”. My wife and my little daughter Georgette aged nine implored the German officer not to do me any harm, to which the German officer replied that no harm would be done to me. As I came out of the Blech factory I saw M. Chotel of Saint-Dié, rue d'Ormont surrounded by Prussians. I asked Chotel what he was doing there and he told me that the Germans had found him on the road and brought him with them.

“ At the crossing of the rue Thurin and the rue Breuil the Germans, who were entering all the houses, took possession of M. Léon Georges, labourer, living at Saint-Dié, rue Thurin, No.1, and of one Louzy, carpenter, living at Saint-Dié, rue Thurin, No. 1. The latter is a deaf mute.

“ Up to this moment the Germans in the rue Thurin had not fired nor been fired at; we heard only the bombardment and the noise of distant rifle firing.

“ At the crossing of rue Thurin and rue Breuil a German soldier crossed the rue Breuil and advanced close to the wall of the hospital. There he received a bullet full in the face and

fell. Then the German officer in fury addressed himself to me and said "There they are, your dirty Frenchmen! They are killing our soldiers at the corners of the street! At the same time he gave an order in German and said to us four, threatening us with his revolver, "You march on in front".

"We started in front of the German and after a few steps I saw about 200 metres off a barricade placed right in front of us, behind which our soldiers were firing. The fusillade began at once so that we were caught between two fires.

"I first saw Chotel fall on his knees and the blood run on to his trousers; he turned round and cried "murderers! cowards!"; and he then fell dead.

"A little afterwards M. Léon Georges fell in his turn without saying a word. Afterwards I saw the mute, Louzy, escape by keeping close to the wall of the hospital in rue Saint-Charles. I thought that he was wounded in the foot; I learnt later on that he was wounded in the wrist. The Germans cried out to him to stop, but being a deaf mute he went on.

"In my turn I received a wound in the right groin and fell. I must have lost consciousness for a moment. When I opened my eyes again the cannonade and fusillade were still going on. The Germans were still near me and were firing on the barricade in the rue Saint-Charles.

"At a certain moment the Germans advanced. I begged a German soldier to take me to my own house. He brought me first before a German officer, the very one who had placed us in front. The officer said to me, You know that it was not a German bullet that struck you but a French bullet! He had me taken home by two German soldiers.

"When I undressed at my own house I discovered that I had in my right groin a wound about 12 centimètres long by 5 centimètres broad. I lost a large quantity of blood; two 5 franc pieces, which were in the pocket of my waistcoat, had been twisted and cut by the bullet, of which they bore the mark. But for these two coins I think I should have received a mortal wound.

"I hope to be restored to health in a month or two if there are no complications.

"I confirm my statement of this and sign after reading it

"VISSER. DUCHER."

tant avoided sleeping there; he polluted the place... How can there be such beings! Last night, a man of the *Landwehr*, a man of thirty five, and a married man, tried to rape the daughter of a man in whose house he had been quartered, she was a child; and as the father tried to interpose he kept the point of his bayonet on the man's breast."

The *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* is astonished that I should have stopped the quotation at that point, and neglected to translate the two last lines of the facsimile which read: "Could one believe such a thing possible? but this man at least awaits the punishment which he deserves."

If this last sentence had embarrassed me, and if I had been given to such subterfuges, all I need have done as anyone who looks at the facsimile will see at a glance, was to abstain from photographing it. It is contradictory to accuse me of having wished to suppress a sentence which would never have been known except through my action. The sole reason why I did not translate it was because of its vagueness; except the officers and soldiers of the 12th Prussian Reserve Regiment of Infantry, no one in the world knows what it means. Of what punishment did the author of the diary mean to speak? No one knows: perhaps simply the punishment of divine justice. If he is speaking of a proceeding before a Court Martial, did that proceeding end in condemnation or acquittal? No one knows. If the verdict was guilty, what was the penalty? No one knows.

I am here obliged to undertake a painful controversy. I have been accused with reference to the quotation given above of making a misleading translation, and this accusation has been made in a Danish paper by a man to whom, for his own sake, I will certainly not designate more precisely. I must do the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* the justice to say that, although that paper knew the Danish article and referred to it, it did not take up the

accusation mentioned on its own account, because it knew that it was too base. I also should be glad enough to keep silence on the subject, but I cannot, for I am informed that the problem set by this journalist arouses endless controversy in Denmark.

This problem is as to whether I have not abused my rights as a translator by translating the words "*die noch junge Tochter seines Quartierwirtes*" by the words "the daughter of the man in whose house he had been quartered, she was a child" (*la fille de l'habitant chez qui il avait pris quartier, une fillette*). To solve the problem I would ask, how ought it to be translated? "The *still young* daughter"? That would have meant a girl still capable of attracting as would be the case for example of a woman of 30 or 35, and it is clear that the author of the diary wished to express something quite different from that. If he describes his companion in arms as a *Schweinhund* it is because he reproaches him for having assaulted not a woman still young but a girl whom no one else but a *Schweinhund* would have assaulted; that is to say a girl who was too young "*nondum matura*" or "*vix matura*", and hence the word *fillette* (child) is, as I employ it, a "euphemism of decency" as is likewise the *noch junge* of the author of the diary, and one of the most discreet euphemisms that I can find in my language.

But even if, which is not the case, I had forced the sense, and, when writing of a crime of this sort and of a girl of our country I had for a moment lost the calm which ought to be preserved by a translator — even if a translation had unconsciously allowed some mark of my sorrow and disgust to escape me, no one in the world would have any right to complain. This is a sentiment which was not present to the "neutral" critic who, in his peaceful town, in order to find food for his polemics, ransacks dictionaries and expends his energies in determining up to what age precisely a young girl (*fille*) can be said to be a child

VIII

MILITARY CHORUS : “ NOW THANK WE ALL OUR GOD ”

On pages 26-27 of my first pamphlet Private Moritz Grosse of the 177th Infantry Regiment. tells how on the 23rd August he saw from afar through his field glasses the houses of Dinant in flames. He adds :

Das war in Dinant ein festes
 Dorf, das vom Feinde nicht, ohne
 seinen großen Geschütz Feuer,
 zu zerstören vermocht zu werden,
 das, wo man dachte, das junge
 Heer würde sich nicht ergeben.
 Auf die Straße lagen zwei Tote
 in Verwundete. Die Blut entbrannte
 das sah ich auch aus der Ferne.
 Ich sah auch die Leichen
 verstreut liegen, ganz in der
 Mitte der Straße. Das war
 das letzte, was ich sah, als
 ich die Straße verließ, um
 nach dem Bahnhof zu gehen.
 Ich sah auch die Leichen
 verstreut liegen, ganz in der
 Mitte der Straße. Das war
 das letzte, was ich sah, als
 ich die Straße verließ, um
 nach dem Bahnhof zu gehen.

Einschlagen von Granaten in die Häuser. Abends Feldgesang : Nun danket alle Gott. (Now thank we all our God).

“ Einschlagen von Granaten ” means “ rain of shells ”. I therefore wronged the soldier and his regiment by translating by mistake as follows :

“ Throwing of bombs in the houses. In the evening military chorale : Now thank we all our God. ”

But when once the word “ shells ” has been properly inserted, if the sting of these two lines disap-

Plate O.

Dorfes lagen zwei junge Mädchen, eine tot und eine schwer verwundet. Auch der Pfaffe wurde vor dem Bahnhofgebäude erschossen. Auch werden noch ander 30 Mann standrechtlich erschossen und 50 gefangen gemacht.”

pears, the sting still remains in the facts as they really took place, for we know — and by German diaries — what was the martyrdom of Dinant (21-26 August), and how the houses of whole streets were burnt by incendiary bombs (*Bomben*). This is proved for example by the diary of Private Paul Förster of the 108th Fusilier Regiment Prince Georges, 12th Corps (*Plates N and O*, p. 36, 37.)

“ 21st August. After a march of an hour and a half we arrived at the first houses of Dinant. The street lamps were lighted but were destroyed by us. ”

“ We had reached the heart of Dinant. Right and left were houses three and four stories high. All at once something terrible and startling happened. From all the houses and all the windows people fired at once as if on an agreed signal. There were a hissing of fire and whistling of bullets which were indescribable. For a moment we were all as it were paralysed, falling on the ground from terror. For my part I was stretched out flat on the right side of the street. My rifle and bayonet were snatched from me. I was delivered defenceless into the hands of the enemy. However my comrades quickly recovered from their fright. Presently our rifles spat out fire in their turn. About 20 minutes passed, during which one might have thought the day of judgment had come. Already the dead and wounded were lying in the street. Anger still further inflamed us. When the fusillade had raged for about 20 minutes, the command to “ cease firing ” sounded through the streets. Still people continued to fire for perhaps another five minutes. Then a silence like death reigned again. The fusillade from the houses had also ceased. Then the command rang out “ beat in the doors of the houses and burn ”. We got to work vigorously, with blows with the butt ends of our rifles, and broke in all the doors and windows. Then the sappers began their work. *They threw incendiary bombs into the houses.* Before long whole rows of houses were in flames. Flames broke out through the windows and lit up the night. ”

“ We beat a retreat. All the houses before which we passed were also burnt. We had attained our end. ” ¹

1. 21. VIII. Nach 1 1/2 stündigem Marsch kamen wir an die ersten Häuser Dinants. Die Strassenlaternen brannten, wurden aber von uns demoliert.

Mitten in Dinant waren wir angelangt, Rechts und links standen Häusermauern 3 und 4 Stock hoch. Plötzlich ereignete sich etwas

When it is remembered that Dinant is a Belgian town and that to use Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg's euphemism, the violation of Belgian territory was a "wrong", when it is remembered that of the 1,400 houses of Dinant and its suburbs, scarcely 200 are still standing; when it is remembered that the list of Belgians who were massacred there contains about 800 names and that innocent blood was shed in rivers, certainly one has a right to be astonished that such "victories" should be celebrated by hymns of gratitude (In the evening military chorale: *Now thank we all our God*), which bear a very strong resemblance to blasphemies.

But what can one be astonished at after reading the German diaries? Have we not just seen the German troops sack a Belgian village to the sound of their national hymn *Deutschland über alles*. Let us hear the song *Deutschland über alles* ring out once more :

Diary of Corporal Menge of the 8th Company of the 74th Reserve Infantry, 10th Reserve Corps (Plate P, p. 40).

"15th August.

"Giving a three-fold cheer in honour of our Emperor and to the sounds of the strain *Deutschland über alles*, we crossed

Furchtbares und Schreckliches. Aus allen Häusern und Fenstern schoss es auf einmal wie verabredet. Es war ein Feuerspeien und Kugelsausen, das sich nicht beschreiben lässt. Für den ersten Augenblick waren alle von uns wie gelähmt. Vor Schreck fiel alles auf die Strasse. Ich selbst lag ganz unten auf der rechten Strassenseite. Mein Gewehr wurde mir mit Seitengewehr entrissen. Hilflos war ich in die Hand der Feinde gegeben. Doch meine Kameraden hatten sich bald vom Schreck erholt. Jetzt spieen unsre Gewehre Feuer. Es dauerte vielleicht 20 Minuten, wo man dachte, das jüngste Gericht sei losgebrochen. Auf der Strasse lagen schon Tote und Verwundete. Die Wut entbrannte sich in uns noch mehr. Als das Feuer vielleicht 20 Minuten gewutet hatte, ging das Kommando (Stopfen) durch die Strassen. Das Schiessen dauerte vielleicht noch 5 Minuten. Dann trat wieder Totenstille ein. Auch das Feuer aus den Häusern hatte aufgehört. Jetzt ertönte das Kommando : "In die Häuser einbrechen und niederbrennen". Wir arbeiteten mächtig mit den Kolben und stiessen alle Türen und Fenster ein. Nun traten die Pioniere in Tätigkeit. Sie warfen die Bomben in die Häuser. Es dauerte nicht lange, so standen ganze Häuserreihen in Flammen. Die Flammen schlugen zu den Fenstern heraus und erleuchteten die Nacht.

Wir traten den Rückzug an alle Häuser, wo wir vorbeikamen, wurden auch in Brand gesetzt. Wir hatten unsern Zweck erreicht.

mely, that of the diary of private Paul Glöde, of the 9th Pioneer Battalion, 9th Corps (*Plate Q*, p. 42):

“ 12th August, 1914. In Belgium. — It is easy to imagine the state of fury of our soldiers when you see the villages that have been destroyed. There is not one house left undamaged. All eatables are requisitioned by the soldiers no longer commanded. We have seen heaps of dead men and women who had been executed after trial. Little children were running around them looking for their mothers. Dogs were chained up with nothing to eat or drink, while the houses were burning over their heads. But the righteous anger of our soldiers goes hand in hand with sheer vandalism. In some villages which had already been deserted they “ set up the red cock ” on all the houses (burnt them). The inhabitants sadden me. If they use disloyal weapons, after all they are but defending their country. The atrocities that these civilians have been and are guilty of are avenged in a savage manner. *Mutilation of the wounded is the order of the day.* ” ¹

On the facsimile, in place of *wüst gerächt* (*avenged in a savage manner*) the *Norddeutsche* chooses to read *ernst gerächt* (*severely avenged*), alleging that the sign which denotes the modification of the *u* is lacking on the word which I read *wüst*, and in favour of the reading “ ernst ” the *Norddeutsche* maintains that the mutilated wounded were Germans.

To which I reply that the author of the diary may well have omitted the sign from the *u* of *wüst*, since he omitted it three lines higher up in the word *verubt*. I reply moreover that it is impossible to read *ernst* if you compare the *er* of *erschossen* of the facsimile ; that one is obliged to read *wüst*

1. “ Von der Wut der Soldaten kann man sich ein Bild machen, wenn man die zerstörten Dörfer sieht. Kein Haus ist mehr ganz. Alles essbare wird von einzelnen Soldaten requiriert. Mehrere Haufen Menschen sah man, die standrechtlich erschossen wurden. Kleine Schweinchen liefen umher und suchten ihre Mutter. Hunde lagen an der Kette und hatten nichts zu fressen und zu saufen und über ihnen brannten die Häuser.

“ Neben der gerechten Wut der Soldaten schreitet aber auch purer Vandalismus. In ganz leeren Dörfer setzen sie den roten Hahn ganz willkürlich auf die Häuser. Mir tun die Leute leid. Wenn sie auch unfaire Waffen gebrauchen, so verteidigen sie doch nur ihr Vaterland. Die Grausamkeiten die verübt wurden und noch werden von seiten der Bürger werden wüst gerächt.

“ *Verstümmelungen der Verwundeten sind an Tagesordnung.* ”

Es ist nicht kein Haus ist
nicht ganz. Alles erschauere.
Es ist von einem kleinen
Soldaten requiriert.
Mehrere Häuser Menschen
sah man, die stand.
Der Mensch erschauern
müde. Kleine Menschen
hüpfen unter & durch
die Mauer. Spinnweb
liegen an der Mauer. Es
hatten nichts. Bei jeder
einer saufen & stehen
ihnen bräunten die
Häuser.

Aber der große Welt
der Soldaten erschauert
aber auch seine Hand.
In ganz kleinen Dörfern
stehen unter sie den
ersten Platz. Große an 11.
Hundert auf die Häuser.
Man kann die Leute dort
Wenn sie auch von jeder
Häuser gelassen. So
die kleinen bei der Hand.
nicht.

Die ganze Welt ist
nicht & nicht mehr
nach der Hand. Man
kann gemacht
Veränderungen im
mindest. Es ist
(Tagesordnung)

12.8.14. Das jetzt habe ich mir

In the Diary of Lance Sergt. (Vice-feldwebel) Bruchmann of 144th Infantry Regiment, 16th Army Corps (Plate S) we read as follows :

“ No quarter is to be given to wounded Turcos. ”¹

The Diary of non-commissioned officer Götsche, of the

85th Infantry Regiment, 9th Army Corps² (Plate T, p. 45) reads as follows :

“ 6th October, 1914. We should like to have taken the Fort at once but we were forced first to encamp at Kessel (to the east of Antwerp). ” The Captain called us together and said : “ In the fort which we have to take there are, according to all appearances, Englishmen. But I do not wish to see any English prisoner taken by the Company! A general cheer was the answer. ”³

We read in the diary of Reservist

Handwritten diary entry in German, dated 1. 10. 14, mentioning military operations and the capture of Antwerp.

Plate S.

1. “ Verwundeten Turcos soll kein Pardon gegeben werden. ”
2. A part of this regiment was then escorting some pieces of artillery destined for the siege of Antwerp.
3. “ Wir wollten ja den Fort zuerst nehmen, mussten aber noch in dem Ort Kessel Quartier beziehen. Der Herr Hauptmann rief uns um sich und sagte “ In dem Fort, das zu nehmen ist, sind aller Wahrschein-

Fahlenstein, 34th Fusiliers, 11th Army Corps, as follows. (Plate U) :

“ 28th August. They (the Frenchmen) lay in heaps of 8 or 10 wounded or dead on the top of one another. Those who could still walk we made prisoners and brought with us : those who were seriously wounded, in the head or lungs, etc. and who could not stand upright were given one more bullet which put an end to their life.

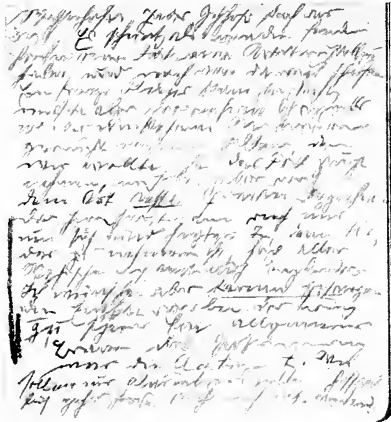


Plate T.

Indeed that was the order which we had received.”

X

GENERAL CONCLUSION

I will finish by this general appreciation taken from the Diary of Non-Commissioned Officer X. of the 46th Reserve Regiment of Infantry, 5th Reserve Corps (Plate V) :

“ 15th October, 1914. It had first been intended to put us into billets at Billy (Billy-sous-Mangiennes) where the civilian popu-

lichkeit nach Engländer. Ich wünsche aber *keinen* gefangenen Engländer bei der Kompanie zu sehen”. Ein allgemeines Bravo der Zustimmung war die Antwort.

1. “ Da lagen sie haufenweise 8 bis 10 Verwundete und Tote immer aufeinander. Die nun noch gehen konnten wurden gefangen und mitgenommen. Die schwer verwundeten, die einen Kopfschuss oder Lungenschuss u. s. w. hatten, und nicht mehr auf konnten, bekamen dennoch eine Kugel zu, dass ihr Leben ein Ende hatte. Das ist uns ja auch befohlen worden. ”

notebook have equal rank with the Pastoral letter of the Archbishop of Malines. Since the beginning of the war nothing has been written more true and more full of religion. If our soldiers who were the witnesses of so many crimes could all know this reflection of a foe who was worthy of them, it would be another antidote to the hideous temptation of reprisals. It would assist in strengthening them in their belief that if it is a glorious thing to conquer, victory as well as life itself is bought too dearly at the price of honour.

Everyone is now in a position to place the proper value upon the justification put forward by the semi-official German press. On the debit side the account shows a mistake in translation which I have admitted (namely *Granaten* wrongly translated “ bombs ”) and that is all. For the rest the controversy reduces itself to disputes — for the most part idle ones — as to the meaning of five or six obscure lines which may be interpreted, if desired, as the German press demands, without the horror of the deeds therein related being in any way diminished. The object of the attack was to disturb the minds of those of my readers who do not know German. They will know for the future what it is worth. They know that the texts published in my two pamphlets are proof against all controversy and all argument conducted in good faith. They know I have obtained the confessions concerning some of the crimes committed by the German armies from German soldiers and German soldiers only; that their confessions have often been made with cynicism and sometimes not without horror and disgust; and that the crimes in question, almost all of which have been committed in obedience to orders, are crimes against women, children, defenceless civilians, old men, prisoners and wounded.

“ But God is just and sees everything ; his mill grinds slowly but exceeding small. ”



